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SOVIET

VS.

American Government

BY

BURTON L. FRENCH

Representative in Congress from Idaho

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A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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Introduction.

In March, 1917, that unrest in Russia which had grown in intensity like accumulating steam under pressure, seized its hour of opportunity to overthrow the dynasty of the Romanoffs. Then with kaleidoscopic rapidity the government was transferred from Czar Nicholas to Prince George Lvoff, from Lvoff to Kerensky and from Kerensky to Lenine and Trotsky. Under these last two leaders chaotic Russia has now seethed for three years and the end is not yet in sight.

Of all the great nations Russia is most provincial, is most out of step with the progress of the world. Of the great nations Russia had been ruled with most tyranny and had been given least chance of self-expression. The Russian people are intelligent, emotional, artistic, and visionary. They are inclined to be impractical and in matters of government were without experience other than that of participation in their local soviets or town meetings.

In this moment of the overthrow of the old government of Russia, of the seizure of all government by the masses, there was presented the great opportunity which was likewise the great crisis. The Russian masses, somewhat guided by the few intellectual theorists of their own class, laid down the basis of the government which was to dominate one-fifth of the world's surface, a region inhabited by 180,000,000 people made up of many elements, less than ten percent of which were able to read.

This new government, as foreshadowed through its constitution, was a government on a new basis, was a government the like of which had never existed before and therefore formed a rallying point for all individuals throughout the world who were dominated by the spirit of discontent, who were in favor of overthrowing the established order and setting up something else, however

new and untried, in its place. Throughout the world there have been groups that have instinctively favored this new government and have advocated it as a substitute for the agencies that already exist. Throughout the world there have been individuals who have rushed to the preaching of the gospel of soviet with little understanding of what it really meant. Professors in the leading universities in the United States have declared for it. Some of them have been given the opportunity to understand it and have withdrawn their approval. Groups of organized labor here and there have passed resolutions endorsing the soviet form of government when there was probably no single individual in the group who had a clear idea of what that government was like.

The great difficulty has been in procuring accurate information with relation to soviet government—in finding a rule with which to measure it. Russia is so huge, so chaotic, and has been so isolated from the world in the last three years that an understanding measure of its course has been difficult to make. Explanations of what has transpired within that country have usually been given, either by enthusiastic supporters of its theories of government, or by those who instinctively oppose it. They have usually been fragmentary and unsatisfying.

Here finally is a serious effort to measure soviet government, using as a yard stick the government of the United States. In this way it is thought to be possible to set up the figure of this nebulous creature on the other side of the world, and to place it beside the concrete and well-known form of Uncle Sam, that it may be seen and appreciated for what it is. So may the man on the street get a ready picture of this new experiment in government, and so may he be given an opportunity to decide whether or not it is a thing which should be accepted in preference to the established order which has here stood the test of 144 years of successful operation.

Soviet vs. American Government.

by

BURTON L. FRENCH,

Representative in Congress from Idaho.

What is the soviet system of government and do we want it? This is one of the vital, oft recurring questions of national and international importance—a question which America must answer for herself before there can be national peace of mind.

A government has no right to exist save only as it serves the highest interest of the people who make it up and who come in contact with it. Whenever something is presented that better serves the public than that which it would displace, it is time to discard the old and adopt the new. It would not, however, seem wise to adopt the thing which is new upon the mere assertion of its virtues and to discard in its favor that which has been demonstrated as fairly successful through a hundred and forty-four years of actual test.

If the soviet system is better than ours, by all means let us adopt it. But let us adopt it not merely on faith but only after a demonstration of its virtues. Let us admit that the government of the United States is better understood, better demonstrated, more successful to date, than that of Russia. Let us apply to the proposal of change the same common sense we would to the arguments of a suave salesman who comes to the door and offers a substitute for the faithful kitchen stove. Let us measure the new by the old and see which is best.

It is, then, from the standpoint of a comparison of the essential features of the soviet system with the essential principles of the representative system which we know in America that I want to consider the question.

In January, 1918, the group of Russian people headed

by Lenine and Trotsky, adopted what might be called a declaration of rights. On July 10, 1918, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, the highest governmental agency in that country, formally ratified a constitution. This instrument recited that the bill of rights is a part of the organic law. These documents are the basic foundation of the soviet government. "Soviet government" is the proper term by which to designate it and the dominant party in its support is that of the Bolsheviks.

One of the unique features of the soviet form of government is that of so-called group representation. Under this plan groups of workers in given trades are allowed representation. A representative, for instance, may have as his constituents the carpenters, or the barbers in a given community. The novelty of this situation has led to its being given much publicity and the impression of its importance has been exaggerated.

From an examination of the soviet constitution, it appears that the executive authority is combined with the legislative, and there is no independent judiciary. Also it will be seen that Russia, for its government, is divided into units of various sizes, just as is the United States. We have the country as a whole, counties, and other local units such as districts, precincts, or parishes, or urban units, such as cities, towns, and villages, depending upon the state. Then we have the different bodies chosen to govern these units. So in Russia.

Russia, considered as a whole, is divided into regions, provinces, counties, and rural and village units.

Then they have the governing body for each unit. This governing body is known as a soviet.

There is no magic in the word "soviet." It merely means a council. It means a legislative or deliberative body. It had as well be called a council, a congress, or a parliament. In Russia there are several different soviets—the local rural, the rural, the village or urban, the county, the provincial, the regional, and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. These may correspond to deliberative bodies of our precincts, our counties, our states, and our Nation.

The Vote.

Now, so far there is nothing incongruous. But how are the soviets elected? In this government as in ours, the ballot must be recognized as the very cornerstone of the whole structure and the efficiency of the whole may well be measured by the efficiency of the ballot. Self government is actual in proportion to the direct rule of the people through the vote.

Parallel 1—Legislative Bodies.

Russia.	United States.
1. All Russian Congress of Soviets.	1. Senate and House of Representatives.
2. Regional Soviet.	2. No government subdivision to correspond. Would be like group of States, as New England States.
3. Provincial Soviet.	3. State Legislatures.
4. County Soviet.	4. County Commissioners.
5. Rural Soviet.	5. No corresponding subdivision.
6. Local Soviet.	6. City, precinct and township organization.

In Russia, in the first place, instead of the people voting by parties or by groups representing public opinion they vote, at least theoretically, by trades or crafts. But for whom do they vote? For members of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets? No. For members of the regional or provincial soviet? No. For members of the county soviet? No. For members of the local soviet? Yes. That is, the people, voting by trades, elect members of the particular craft to which they belong to the local soviet. Now, this is the only part the people themselves have in this much heralded government. The people, then, or, shall I say, those of the people who have the franchise, in theory have the right to vote for the members of the local soviet. The local soviet in the cities is called the urban soviet; in the country it is called the rural local soviet.

The Deadly Parallel.

Now, this represents the final responsibility that is placed upon the people. There probably never was devised a clearer way to show the contrast between two objects being compared than to do as Hamlet did when he said, "Look here, upon this picture, and on this." Having that in mind I am going to try to examine the Russian government by placing it alongside the government of our own country. Let me then direct attention to the different units of government as they exist in Russia and the corresponding units of government as they exist in the United States.

Consider first the legislative bodies that exist in Russia and the sub-divisions of government under Russia, and the legislative bodies that exist in the United States on down to the officers elected in our precincts, villages, and towns.

Now let us pass on to the executive officers in Russia and the executive officers in the United States. The executive officers of all Russia are what are termed in the constitution the commissairs. For comparison, I present Deadly Parallel No. 2.

Parallel 2—Officers Voted For.

Russia.	United States.
1. Members of the local soviet.	1. Precinct, township, village and city local officers.
	2. County officers.
	3. State officers.
	4. Members of State Legislatures.
	5. Members of Congress.
	4. Presidential Electors.

With reference to the method of apportioning representation to the legislative bodies in Russia, and the method of apportioning representation to the legislative bodies in the United States, I offer Deadly Parallel No. 3,

and want readers to "Look on this picture, and then on this."

Deadly Parallel No. 4 shows the franchise as it exists in Russia under the soviet system according to the constitution and as it exists in the United States.

Farmers Cut Little Figure.

The farmer in Russia votes for his rural local soviet member, and when he casts that ballot his power as a voter has come to an end. The members of that local soviet vote to elect members to the rural soviet; the members of the rural soviet then vote to elect members to the provincial soviet; and the members of the provincial soviet vote to elect members to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In other words, as the Senators of the United States in the olden times were once removed from the American voter, the members of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets are three times removed from the Russian farmer. The city voter is trusted more than the farmer, for he votes direct for his urban representative, who in turn votes for the member of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In Russia the political organization that is less than the entire nation is what is known as a region. It would correspond in the United States to a group of states such as the New England states or the Pacific Coast states. In the United States we have no political organization that presides over or is responsible to a group of our states. The state itself is the only unit above the county between the county and the Federal Government. However, under the Russian soviet system the members of the legislative body known as the regional soviet are chosen not by the people but by the urban and county soviets, the urban soviet members being elected in the cities by the direct vote of those of the Russian people who are permitted the ballot, while the county soviets are twice removed from the farmer, who again cannot be trusted with the responsibility of voting for so much as a county officer in Russia.

Parallel 3—Choice of Members of Congress.

Russia.

1. Citizens vote for members of the local (rural or urban) soviet.
2. Members of the local soviet (in country) vote for members of the rural soviet.
3. Members of the rural and urban soviets vote for members of the provincial soviet.
4. Members of the provincial and urban soviets vote for members of the All-Russian soviet.

United States.

1. Every citizen votes direct for member of Congress.

The next political unit in Russia is the Province. This unit corresponds with the state under our own system. In Russia the provincial soviet, a legislative body, is made up of members elected by whom? The People? Not at all. It is made up of members elected, first, by the urban soviets, who are elected by the people, and by the rural soviets, who are once removed from the people. In the United States our state legislatures are elected by whom? By the people.

In the translation of the constitution of Russia that I have, the word "county" is used as the English equivalent of the Russian word, and it corresponds with a small section of country similar to the county in our own government. In the United States the persons who are intrusted with the supervision of county affairs are the county commissioners. These officers are elected by the people just as are our Senators and members of the House, and just as are members of the legislatures. In Russia we find that the members of the county soviet are not chosen by the people; they are chosen by the urban soviets and by the rural soviets.

We pass to the organizations that are less than the county soviet, and we find rural soviets made up of members who are elected not by the people but by two groups,

first, the village voter from villages whose population is less than 1,000 people and by the rural local soviet.

In the cities of more than 10,000 people we find urban soviets.

The members of the urban soviets, the members of the village soviets, and the members of the local rural soviets, receive their franchise direct from the people. This is Russia. This is the soviet system.

How Executives are Chosen.

Now let us pass on to the executive officers in Russia and the executive officers in the United States.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is necessarily a very large body and it is an unwieldy body. For the purpose, then, of close executive administration the constitution provides that there shall be an executive committee of 200 members appointed. This executive committee is chosen by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. As the Congress itself is once removed from the city dweller, and three times removed from the country dweller, the committee chosen by the congress is two times and four times, respectively, removed from these groups of Russian people.

Parallel 4—How Wilson and Lenine, Respectively, are Chosen.

Lenine.

By an executive committee of two hundred which was elected by the All-Russian Congress, which was elected by the urban and provincial soviets, which latter (provincial) was elected by the urban and rural soviets, which latter (rural) was elected by the local-rural soviets.

Wilson.

By electors chosen by the people direct and instructed to vote for him in the electoral college.

This committee then selects another committee of 17 members, which is called the council of people's commissars, each member of which presides over another committee chosen by the council and which exercises the

function of a cabinet department of the government. The chairman of each committee is the chief executive of the particular department to which the business of the committee pertains. The chairman of the foreign affairs committee, the chairman of the committees on the army and navy, become necessarily the most important members of the Russian Government, and the chairmanship of the foreign affairs committee is the office that is now filled by Lenine. The chairmanship of the committee on military affairs is the office filled by Trotsky. It is by virtue of being chairman of this commissariat that Mr. Lenine has become what we popularly call the premier, the head of the Russian Government.

Mr. Lenine, then, is responsible not to the public, not to the country, not to the state or province. He is responsible to the executive committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which in turn is responsible to the congress. He is three to five times removed from the voting power of the people of Russia.

Parallel 5—How Members of State Legislatures in United States and Provincial Soviets in Russia are Chosen.

Russia.	United States.
By members of urban soviets and rural soviets.	By direct vote of the citizens.

We then pass to the provincial government, which corresponds to the governments of the states. In the United States the chief executive of every state is chosen by the direct vote of the people. Not so in Russia. The executives of each province are chosen by and are responsible to the provincial soviet, which, as I have already indicated, is a body that is not elected by the people.

Parallel 6—How County Officers in the United States and County Soviets in Russia are Chosen.

Russia.	United States.
By members of urban soviets and rural soviets.	By direct vote of the people.

I shall not pursue the matter further with the lesser organizations in Russia, other than to say that while the people in the United States vote for their executive officers in precinct, in village, and in county, all the executive officers, from the local soviet through the urban and village soviets up to the county soviets are chosen not by the people but by the soviets themselves of the region over which they are expected to preside.

Basis of Representation.

In Russia the overwhelming majority of people are farmers, and only six of the 50 provinces have any considerable population engaged in non-rural industries. Lenine and Trotsky when they seized control knew that if they were to retain their control and pass it on to others capable of thinking along similar lines, it would be necessary for them to work out a system by which the craftsmen and the men in the army and navy would have an unfair and undue share in the representation in the legislative bodies.

Accordingly we find the constitution solemnly declaring that one member to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, if he shall represent city people, shall be elected for every 25,000 voters, and if he shall represent provincial people—the farmers—one member shall represent 125,000 inhabitants. The constitution uses the word "voter" as applied to the city dweller, but "inhabitant" as applied to the country. The reason is plain. The farmer must be disfranchised.

Remember, now, that both men and women over 18 years of age under certain conditions may vote. In the city is where we find the large groups of men and women who are working in factories or in mines or mills, and who are unattached. In and near the city is where we find the soldiers. This is where we find the sailors. In the cities of Russia we will find the very people for whose interest the soviet government exists, and it is for that reason that the constitution is so drafted as to give the city dweller of Russia a greater representation in their

All-Russian Congress of Soviets than is given to the farmers.

Notice further that the population of the city is figured in with the population of the country for the basis of province representation, thus giving an additional double representation to the city.

Now, when you go to the regional unit in Russia, you find the same principle applied. One representative to the city dweller is given to every 5,000 voters, while the county as a whole is given one representative for every 25,000 inhabitants.

Notice again that the city population is included in making up the county population, and thus has an additional double representation.

And when you go to the provincial unit the city dweller is given one representative in the provincial soviet for every 2,000 voters while the farmers are given one representative for every 10,000 inhabitants.

Examine the constitution of all countries that pretend to be civilized and you will not find a more flagrant abuse in the organic act of apportionment of representation among the people than you will find in the constitution of the soviet government of Russia. Do those who urge that system in the United States propose to disfranchise the farmers of the United States?

I have pointed out that the soviet government is organized so as deliberately to eliminate the farmer. And I now come to another instance in point. I have said that the All-Russian Congress of Soviets is chosen by the urban soviets and the provincial soviets. But the urban soviets are elected by the city folks alone, while city and country folks unite to elect the provincial soviets. That gives the city people double representation and cuts down correspondingly the representation of the country.

The same principle applies to the regional soviet. The members of the regional are elected by the urban soviets and then through the urban soviets have a part in selecting the county soviets. The whole scheme is

devised and worked out to take away from the farming communities political power and to vest it in the hands of soldiers and sailors and craft groups.

Class Representation Fostered.

In Russia, it is solemnly set forth in the constitution that the representation accorded to the people shall come from the class to which they belong. That is, a group of carpenters in a city shall elect a carpenter to the soviet, the blacksmiths shall elect a man who can swing a hammer, the painters shall elect one of their own group, while the farmers shall elect a farmer.

Parallel 7—Basis of Representation in Congress.

Russia.	United States.
Every 25,000 voters in the city, or 128,000 voters in the country, is entitled to a representative in the All-Russian Congress. Thus is there discrimination in favor of the cities.	A representative in Congress for every 225,000 people.

Here is a distinctive feature of the soviet system, and let us analyze it. What does it mean? It means selfish interest, pure and simple. It means self-interest magnified to the nth power. It means that the carpenter as he considers a candidate for the urban soviet, shall have in mind not Russia, not a province of Russia, not a county, but a little group of carpenters in the particular community which selects a member to the urban soviet. It means that the blacksmith will not think of the interests of carpenters or peasants, that he will not think of the interests of all Russia, or the regional or provincial group, but he will think of the interests selfishly of those who work at the forge.

It means that the farmer will shut his eyes to the well-being of everything else in his country and think of nothing but the welfare of the farmer of Russia.

It means in the last analysis selfishness to a degree

unheard of, and it means disintegration of national sentiment and of national power. No people can be taught to look in and not out without becoming narrow, selfish, suspicious of others.

The Franchise.

In a government that has been heralded so widely as being the most profound experiment in democracy that has ever been undertaken, we would naturally expect that the franchise would be along lines that would recognize all mankind embraced within the citizenship of the nation as standing upon an equal footing. The United States has for many years adhered to that principle. It was that principle largely for which our fathers died when they established our Government, and yet that principle seems foreign to the way of thinking of Lenine and Trotsky as they shaped the Russian constitution.

Parallel 8—Those Who May Vote.

Russia.

1. The franchise extends to all over 18 years of age who have acquired the means of living through manual labor, and also persons engaged in housekeeping for the former.
2. Soldiers of the Army and Navy.
3. The former two classes when incapacitated.

United States.

All men (and women in many states, and soon in all) who are citizens and over 21 years of age, excepting those disfranchised on account of illiteracy, mental ailment or criminal record.

Bear in mind the liberal franchise with which the American Nation meets her citizens and let me ask you to contemplate the franchise that is handed out to the people of Russia who are 18 years of age or over who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society and persons engaged in housekeeping in behalf of the former are entitled to the

franchise. Who else? The soldiers of the army and navy. Who else? Any of the former two classes who have become incapacitated.

Now turn to the next sections of the Russian constitution and see who are disfranchised.

The merchant is disfranchised; ministers of all denominations are disfranchised; and then, while condemning the Czar for tyranny, the soviet constitution solemnly declares that those who were in the employ of the Czar or had been members of the families of those who had ruled in Russia for many generations shall be denied suffrage.

Persons who have income from capital or from property that is theirs by reason of years of frugality, industry, and thrift are penalized by being denied the right to vote. They are placed in the class with criminals, while the profligate, the tramp who works enough to obtain the means by which he can hold body and soul together, is able to qualify under the constitution of Russia and is entitled to a vote. Under that system in the United States the loyal men and women who bought Liberty Bonds in their country's peril would be disfranchised while the slacker would have the right of suffrage.

Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits may not vote or hold office. Under that system the manufacturer who furnishes employment for a thousand men would be denied the ballot, while those in his employ could freely exercise the right of franchise. Under that system the farmer who hires a crew of men to help him harvest his crop is denied the franchise. Under that system the dairyman who hires a boy to milk his cows or to deliver milk is denied the franchise.

Parallel 9—Those Who are Disfranchised.

Russia.

Disfranchised.

1. Persons who employ hired labor.
2. Persons who have an income without doing any work.
3. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.
4. Monks and clergy of all denominations.
5. Members, employees and agents of the czar's government.
6. Persons unfit on account of mental ailment or criminal record.

The farmer is discriminated against, especially in the fixing of the groups of people who are disfranchised under this last provision to which I have directed attention.

Does the soldier employ labor? No.

Does the sailor employ labor? No.

Does the craftsman employ labor? Not generally.

In the cities those who are interested in industrial lines are very few in comparison with the craftsmen, the soldiers, and the sailors; but how about the country?

We know that every successful farmer now and then needs to employ additional labor. He needs to employ it when he puts in his crop; sometimes he employs it when he is caring for the crop; usually he must employ it when the harvest season is on. Now, what does this mean? It means that in all Russia every farmer who has gumption enough to continue his business along such lines as make it necessary that he employ so much as one man to help him in his work when the services of that man are of assistance in increasing the income of the farmer is disfranchised.

United States.

The illiterate, the mentally unbalanced, and criminals.

Other Amazing Features.

The constitution of Russia adopts the declaration of rights as part of the organic act to the extent that changes have not been made by the constitution. Examine them—the constitution and the declaration of rights—we find other most astounding doctrines in the soviet fundamental law. I shall not discuss but merely mention a few of them. They do not pertain so much to the structure of government as they do to the economic and social conditions surrounding the people under the soviet system:

First. Private ownership of land is abolished. (No compensation, open or secret, is paid to the former owner.)

Second. Civil marriage alone is legal. By act of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets a marriage may be accomplished by the contracting parties declaring the fact orally, or by writing to the department of registry of marriage. Divorce is granted by petition of both or either party upon proof alone that divorce is desired.

Third. The teaching of religious doctrines is forbidden in private schools, as well as in schools that are public.

Fourth. No church or religious society has the right to own property. (The soviet leaders boldly proclaim the home and the church as the enemies of their system, and from the foregoing, it would seem that they are trying to destroy them.)

Fifth. Under the general authority granted to the soviets by the constitution inheritance of property by law or will has been abolished.

These amazing features of the constitution and laws enacted under the constitution speak more eloquently than any words that could be used to amplify them in portraying the hideousness of a system of government that, if permitted to continue, must inevitably crush out the home in large part by the flippancy with which marriage and divorce are regarded, by the refusal of permitting the land to be held in private ownership, and by

refusing the parent the right at death to pass on to his wife or to his children the fruits of years of toil.

The Arraignment.

What, then, is my arraignment of sovietism according to the soviet constitution?

1. The people have no direct vote or voice in government, except the farmers in their local rural soviets and the city dwellers in their urban soviets.
2. The rural, county, provincial, regional, and All-Russian soviets are elected indirectly, and the people have no direct vote in the election.
3. The people have no voice in the election of executive officers of the highest or lowest degrees.
4. There is no mention of independent judicial officers in the constitution.
5. The people are very largely disfranchised.
6. The farmer of Russia is discriminated against.
7. The system raises class against class; the voters vote by trade and craft groups instead of on the basis of thought units.
8. The system strikes a blow at the church and the home.
9. The system is pyramidal and means highly centralized and autocratic power.

The soviet system of government can not be defended. It is against the interests of the very men for whom it is supposed to have been established—the laboring man. He is the man most of all who must suffer under any kind of government or system that is wrong. He is the man who would be out of bread within the shortest time. He is the man whose family would be destitute of clothing in the shortest time. He is the man whose family will suffer through disease, famine, and pestilence in the shortest time.

As it is against the best interest of the laboring man, so it is against the best interest of all the people, and, as a matter of fact, the overwhelming mass of people of this country and all countries is made up of laboring people.

Finally, the Soviet government, as foreshadowed in its constitution, is obviously unjust, unfair and discriminatory. This fact will appear at once to any mind

trained to the American manner of thought, which takes the trouble to investigate sovietism, and whatever tendency there may be to approve will disappear with better understanding.

What Bolshevism Would Mean in America.

Senate Committee's Report.

The United States Senate passed a resolution on Feb. 4, 1919, directing a judiciary sub-committee to investigate Bolshevik propaganda in the United States. This committee made a thorough inquiry, calling witnesses from both the friends and opponents of the Soviet system, and at length formulated an elaborate report, the substance of which appeared in the Congressional Record of Dec. 12, 1919. According to that official report the salient features of Bolshevism, as it exists today in Russia, and is presented to the rest of the world as a panacea for all ills, may be summarized as follows:

1. The repudiation of democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship.
2. The confiscation of all land and the improvements thereon.
3. The confiscation of all forests and natural resources.
4. The confiscation of all live-stock and all agricultural implements.
5. The confiscation of all banks and banking institutions and the establishment of a State monopoly of the banking business.
6. The confiscation of all factories, mills, mines and industrial institutions and the delivery of the control and operation thereof to the employes therein.
7. The confiscation of all churches and all church property, real and personal.
8. The confiscation of all newspapers and periodicals and all mechanical facilities and machinery used in the publication thereof.
9. The seizure and confiscation of all public meeting places and assembly halls.
10. The confiscation of all transportation and communication systems.
11. The confiscation of the entire estate of all decedents.
12. The monopolizing by the State of all advertisements of every nature, whether in newspapers, periodicals, handbills or programs.

13. The repudiation of all debts against the Government and all obligations due the non-Bolshevist elements of the population.
14. The establishment of universal compulsory military service, regardless of religious scruples and conscientious objections.
15. The establishment of universal compulsory labor.
16. The abolition of the Sunday school and all other schools and institutions that teach religion.
17. The absolute separation of churches and schools.
18. The establishment, through marriage and divorce laws, of a method for the legalization of prostitution, when the same is engaged in by the consent of the parties.
19. The refusal to recognize the existence of God in its government and judicial proceedings.
20. The conferring of the rights of citizenship on aliens without regard to length of residence or intelligence.
21. The arming of all so-called "toilers" and the disarming of all persons who had succeeded in acquiring property.
22. The discrimination in favor of residents of cities and against residents of the rural districts through giving residents of cities five times as much voting power as is accorded to residents of rural districts in such elections as are permitted.
23. The disfranchisement of all persons employing any other person in connection with their business.
24. The disfranchisement of all persons receiving rent, interest or dividends.
25. The disfranchisement of all merchants, traders and commercial agents.
26. The disfranchisement of all priests, clergymen or employes of churches and religious bodies.
27. The denial of the existence of any inalienable rights in the individual citizen.
28. The establishment of a judicial system exercising autocratic power, convicting persons and imposing penalties in their absence and without opportunity to be heard, and even adopting the death penalty for numerous crimes and misdemeanors.
29. The inauguration of a reign of fear, terrorism and violence.

AUTHORITATIVE OPINION ON SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Men in High Places Who Have Had Opportunity to Get the Facts Give Their Impressions of the Experiment.

WOODROW WILSON, *President of the United States*.—There is a closer monopoly of power in Moscow and Petrograd than there ever was in Berlin.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President of the American Federation of Labor*.—Bolshevism is as great an attempt to disrupt the trade unions as it is to overturn the government of the United States. It means the decadence or perversion of the civilization of our time. To me, the story of the desperate Samson who pulled the temple down on his head is an example of what is meant by bolshevism.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, *United States Senator from Massachusetts*.—In letters of fire, this Russian scene says to us, "This way lies ruin." * * * Be Americans first, Americans last and Americans always. From that firm foundation you can march on. Abandon it and chaos will come, as when the civilization of Rome crashed down in irremediable ruin.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, *Former President of the United States*.—I do not fear bolshevism in this country. I do not mean that in congested centers foreigners and agitators will not have influence. But Americans as a whole have a deep love for America. It is a vital love that the sensational appeals of bolshevists and agitators cannot weaken.

DAVID R. FRANCIS, *Former Ambassador to Russia*.—A reign of terror instituted by the bolsheviks, with the purpose of maintaining themselves in power, is prevailing in central and northern Russia. The outrages they have committed are incredible.

IGNACE PADEREWSKI, *Premier of Poland*.—It is not an individual peril, but a peril for civilization, for the aim of the entire Christian civilization—peace and work—will not kill bolshevism as far as we are concerned, because you cannot have peace and or-

ganized prosperity with your next door neighbor advising your workmen not to work and paying agents to destroy your factories as quickly as you can build them. Most people like to get money without working, and that is what bolshevist Russia offers.

FRANK MONDELL, *Republican Leader in the House*.—The greatest of all crimes, in a free country under our form of government, is preaching and practicing doctrines of anarchy and violence. Whatever ills, inequalities and inequities exist in a free country like ours, may be and will be remedied through the peaceful processes provided by the Constitution and the laws.

MORRIS HILLQUIT, *International Secretary of the Socialist Party*.—The Socialists of the United States would have no hesitancy whatsoever in joining forces with the rest of their countrymen to repel the bolsheviks who would try to invade our country and force a form of government upon our people which our people were not ready for, and did not desire.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, *Vice President of the United States*.—I believe that the American republic as instituted by the fathers constitutes the finest system of government ever ordained among men and affords the machinery for the righting of grievances without resort to violence, tumult and disorder. * * * I believe there is no justification, in a government where officials are elected and laws made by the people, for a minority to threaten bloodshed and anarchy unless the majority shall submit to the will of the minority.

HERBERT HOOVER, *Former United States Food Administrator*.—The United States has been for one hundred and fifty years steadily developing a social philosophy of its own. This philosophy has stood this test in the fire of common sense. We have a willingness to abide by the will of the majority. For all I know it may be necessary to have revolutions in some places in Europe in order to bring about these things, but it does not follow that such philosophies have any place with us.

BARON ROSEN, *Former Russian Ambassador to the United States*.—It has turned what was once the empire of Russia into a wilderness of primitive barbarism. If it is not now extirpated, root and branch, if it is suffered to spread any further, it may ultimately mean the doom of our race and our civilization.

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Former Secretary of Commerce*.—We have been fighting the battle of freedom against autocracy. Are we supposed, therefore, to have no concern in the battle of free-

dom against possible anarchy? Can we, dare we, permit a flood of anarchy, if it will be such, to sweep over central as well as eastern Europe, to threaten peoples who have fought by our side and if this is done, then certainly later to threaten us?

HENRY L. MYERS, *Senator from Montana*.—Unless some branch of the government stops this tendency, there will be no need of holding an election in 1920 to select a Republican or Democratic President; a soviet government will have been organized by that time.

CHARLES H. PARKHURST, *Pastor, Madison Square Presbyterian Church*.—If our statutes are of such a forbearing and irresolute character as to make them incompetent to take sharp and crushing notice of the outspoken spirit of revolt * * * which is becoming a spreading infection throughout our foreign population, it is time that the legislative and executive departments of government should bestir themselves and act with something of the efficiency with which the health department is expected to deal with small-pox or any contagious physical taint.

ARTHUR WOOD, *Former Police Commissioner, New York City*.—The persons of foreign birth whom we read of as having been taken into custody for treasonable practices, for plotting against the country, can no more be considered as representative of the foreign born who are here in the country than a few stupid, misguided, light-headed students can be represented as typical of a great university * * * We are all of us foreign born, if we go back far enough.

HUGH L. SCOTT, *Major General U. S. A., Retired*.—This poison of bolshevism is not a remedy for any of the ills of the world—it is merely a disease, a mania for destruction * * * a new autocracy without check or responsibility far more cruel than the old. It runs its course like any other disease, leaving the country with its industries and people and all classes prostrate and exhausted.

FRANCES A. KELLER, *Deaf and Blind Authoress*.—Its methods are those of force and aimed at capital and its destruction, and to secure the depression of production to the point where a worker's control can become operative. Obviously, only business itself can meet this attack effectively. The establishment of credits in Europe, and an adequate supply of man power for America is the answer to bolshevism. Solve the problem of how to get credits to Europe and immigrants to America, and the first big step is taken. Follow this with the stabilization of production, by con-

serving and rewarding man power fairly, and by stabilizing expenditures, and bolshevism has met its economic conqueror.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, *President of Columbia University*.—Bolshevism bears precisely the same relation to democracy that chaos does to order. Each is the antithesis of the other. * * * A great people who had just thrown off the yoke of imperial autocracy.

RAYMOND ROBINS, *Head of Red Cross Mission in Russia*.—I am sure if bolshevism is ever put before our people that it will be emphatically rejected. Yes, there is a kinship between the I. W. W. and bolshevism * * * I regard the soviet program as economically impossible and morally wrong.

LEONARD WOOD, *Major General, U. S. A.*—We are going to govern this country by Americans. When I say Americans, I do not mean necessarily people whose families have been here many generations, but real Americans, the people who have adopted and are trying to live up to our standards and ideals.

JOHN J. PERSHING, *General commanding the armies of the United States*.—America for Americans, until there is not a single half-breed, draft-dodging I. W. W. or bomb-throwing bolshevik left in this country to break the peace.

JOHN J. CORNWELL, *Governor of West Virginia*.—They do not intend to try to have their policies put into force through a popular vote or by electing men to Congress or to the State legislatures. That would be too slow, even were it possible, and they know it is not possible that way. They know the American people will never deliberately vote out a republican form of government and vote in the Russian soviets.

OTTO H. KAHN, *Financier*.—To the false teaching and the various pernicious "isms" with which un-Americans, 50 per cent Americans, or anti-Americans are flooding the country, we must give battle through an organized, persistent, patient, nation-wide campaign of education, of information, of sane and sound doctrine. The masses of the American people want what is right and fair, but they "want to be shown."

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, *Former U. S. Senator*.—If labor feels that the employer is getting more than his share of the profits of their joint product, let labor prove that fact to the jury of the American people and the result will be a favorable verdict in the form of a law which will insure justice; for the highest sense of

right and wrong ever reached in human history abides in the mind and heart of the American people.

JAMES M. BECK, *New York Attorney*.—The time strikingly recalls the closing days of Washington's life, when he said: "The whole world is in an uproar." He recognized that the problem of the statesmen was to steer between the Scylla of anarchy and the Charybdis of autocracy. Ours, too, is a period of popular fermentation, the end of which no man can predict. The Constitution of the United States, with its fine equilibrium between efficient power and individual liberty, still remains the best hope of the world.

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Former Associate Justice U. S. Supreme Court*.—Against all those who counsel violence and anarchy we stand united and resolute. Whatever our ideas we propose that they shall be determined by discussion and the ballot box and not by bombs. To the would-be destroyer of society, to every one who seeks to produce a reign of terror, to all the apostles of revolution, there is but one answer and that is that they will be treated as a pestilence and their activities ended as swiftly as the power and processes of the nation will permit.

WM. CHAPIN HUNTINGTON, *Former Commercial Attache at Petrograd*.—The bolshevist government maintains itself absolutely by terror. They got into power by promising the people peace, bread and land. They kept in power by owning machine guns and using them.

ISAAC F. MARCOSSON, *Journalist and War Correspondent*.—I was in Petrograd when Lenine arrived. Figuratively, I watched him open his Pandora box of dissension and let loose a poison gas. I have smelled its fumes in half a dozen different countries since that time. Nowhere have they been more deadly than in these very United States of ours, where the reptile of bolshevism rears its head as the I. W. W. It has standardized anarchy, put a premium on destruction, imposed a penalty on prosperity. It is the new Prussianism.

HAROLD MACGRATH, *Author*.—What is this thing men call bolshevism? I'll tell you in a single phrase. It is the revolt of the inefficient. Not of skilled labor, of the brain-workers; but the revolt of the men who can't do things and want to pull down the men who can. Remember that. Keep it always in front of you. The revolt of the inefficient, resenting the prosperity of the efficient. I don't mean Prussian efficiency; I mean human efficiency.

AMELIE RIVES, *Authoress*.—Do you want a state without representation, without free thought, free speech and free press? * * * Do you want a state that will take your wives, daughters, sisters, mothers to use them for state breeding purposes? * * * Americans, if you do not want that state, the time has come for you to act!

JOSEPH SILVERMAN, *Jewish Rabbi*.—Illegitimate children are to become the property of the state, and the sanctity of the home is a moral principle not recognized by the bolsheviki. Their principles are opposed to all religion, while lawlessness, license, illegal seizure of property and persons and opposition to synagogue, church and priest and everything pertaining to religion form the bolshevik's creed.

WM. T. MANNING, *Rector, Trinity Church, N. Y.*.—While there is no fear that the sane, cool, calm American mind will ever permit this system to get control in this country, it is necessary to be continually on guard. It is the duty of every man and woman in America to watch this insidious propaganda with its disgraceful symbol, the red flag.

STEWART EDWARD WHITE, *Author*.—The exact opposite of bolshevism is Americanism. In the exact ratio with which this country becomes more American it will become less bolshevistic. Americanism is a constructive force and bolshevism is a destructive force. The two are not only antagonistic, but they are incapable of occupying the same place at the same time.

HILDEGARDE HAWTHORNE, *Authoress*.—If America is to be ours, is to be our children's, we must take notice of the methods of those who are trying to change it so vitally that it will not be our America and will no longer represent the best effort toward true liberty so far achieved. We must put our heart into working for America's best ends, and our strength into saving America from the forces of destruction. We can't do this by simply going about what we call "our own business." We must be about something bigger than that. We must be about America's business.

NICHOLI LENINE, *Premier of Russia*.—The communist state cannot exist in a world of capitalist states. This is politically and economically impossible. The communist state must either convert the capitalist state to communism, or succumb itself to capitalism. An apparent compromise between the two is conceivable for a short time, but it can never be real or lasting. They exclude each other mutually, but it is with ideas, not with arms, we shall conquer the world.

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